## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W

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P R 051412Z AUG 77 FM USMISSION GENEVA TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0049 INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 6665

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1 TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: AMBASSADOR EARLE'S STATEMENTS OF AUGUST 5, 1977

(SALT TWO - 1325)

THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR EARLE AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF AUGUST 5. 1977:

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR EARLE AUGUST 5, 1977

MR. MINISTER:

I

ON JULY 29, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSED THAT MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS BE DELAT WITH IN TWO WAYS: THAT THEY BE PERMITTED AND COUNTED IN THE AGGREGATE IN THE AGREEMENT LASTING THROUGH 1985 AND THAT THEIR DEPLOYMENT BE BANNED DURING THE PERIOD OF THE PROTOCOL WITH A DURATION UNTIL SEPTEMBER 30, 1980 THE SOVIET DELEGATION IN ITS STATEMENT OF AUGUST 3 PROPOSED THAT THE TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF MIBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS AND THEIR MISSILES BE BANNED FOR THE PERIOD OF THE PROTOCOL. SECRET

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TODAY I WILL DISCUSS WITH UNITED STATES POSITION ON MOBILE ICBM LAUNCERS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL.

I

THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE GROWING THREAT TO THE SURVIVABILITY OF FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS AND THE IMPACT

THIS POTENTIAL VULNERABILITY COULD HAVE ON THE DETERRENT VALUE OF FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS AND ON THE STREATEGIC STABILITY SOUGHT BY THE TWO SIDES. UNTIL AND UNLESS ARMS CONTROL MEASURES CAN BE FOUND TO ALLEVIATE THIS CONCERN, THE UNITED STATES MUST MAINTAIN THE OPTION TO MODERNIZE ITS FORCES AS REQUIRED. ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE FORCE MODERNIZATION OPTIONS TO REDUCE THE IMPACT OF THE THREAT TO A FIXED ICBM LAUNCHER FORCE IS THE DEPLOYMENT OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS.

ACCORDINGLY, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE AGREE-MENT WHICH IS TO LAST THROUGH 1985 SHOULD PERMIT THE DEVELOP-MENT, TESTING, AND DEPLOYMENT OF MIBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS, AND THAT SUCH LAUNCHERS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE LIMITATION. THIS POSITION IS PRESENTLY REFLECTED IN THE IOINT DRAFT EXT

III

THE GROWING THREAT TO FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS IS THE RESULT OF INCREASING NUMBERS OF DEPLOYED ICBM REENTRY VEHICLES AND QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS TO ICBMS, PARTICUARLY IN THEIR ACCURACY. AS I HAVE JUST INDICATED, THIS PROBLEM CAN BE DEALT WITH IN ONE OF TWO FUNDAMENTAL WAYS: THROUGH ARMS CONTROL MEASURES WHICH CONTRAIN THIS GROWING THREAT, OR THROUGH FORCE MODERNIZATION ACTIONS WHICH REDUCE THE IMPACT OF THE THREAT.

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THE THREE-PART FRAMEWORK AGREED UPON BY OUR GOVERNMENTS FOR OUR CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS CONSISTS OF A NEW AGREEMENT LASTING THROUGH 1985, A PROTOCOL FOR A SHORTER PERIOD, AND A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES FOR FOLLOW-UP NEGOTIATIONS. WITHIN THIS INTEGRATED FRAMEWORK, THE UNITED STATES IS SEEKING TO CONSTRAIN DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS OB BOTH SIDES WHICH MAY UNDERMINE STRATEGIC STABILITY. FOREMOST AMONG THE DEVELOPMENTS WE SEEK TO CONSTRAIN IS THE GROWING THREAT TO FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W

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IV

THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED THAT THE SIDES AGREE TO BAN THE DEPLOYMENT OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS FOR THE PERIOD OF THE PROTOCOL. THE SOVIET SIDE HAS PROPOSED TO BAN THE TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS AND THEIR MISSILES DURING THIS PERIOD. NEITHER OF THESE PROPOSALS IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE CURRENT JOINT DRAFT TEXT WHICH PERMIT THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING, AND DEPLOYMENT OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS IN THE AGREEMENT LASTING THROUGH 1985. IT IS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE FOR A SHORT-TERM PROTOCOL TO DEAL WITH CERTAIN ISSUES IN A DIFFERENT MANNER THAN THE LONG-TERM AGREEMENT OF WHICH IT IS A PART.

INCREASING NUMBERS OF DEPLOYED ICBM REENTRY VEHICLES
AND QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS IN ICBMS, INCREASE THE THREAT
TO FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS IN THE ABSENCE OF ADDITIONAL ICBM
LIMITATIONS. ACCORDINGLY, IN THE EVENT THAT AGREEMENT
CANNOT BE REACHED ON ARMS CONTROL MEASURES WHICH WOULD ALLAY
OUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE GROWING THREAT TO FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS, THE OPTION TO DEPLOY MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS SHOULD BE
MAINTAINED.

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FOR THESE REASONS, IT IS THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES THAT TESTING OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS SHOULD BE PERMITTED DURING THE PERIOD OF THE PROTOCOL IN ORDER THAT BOTH SIDES CAN BE IN A POSITION THEREAFTERTO EXERCISE, IF NECESSARY, THE OPTION TO DEPLOY MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS.

AS THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION INDICATED ON AUGUST 3, THE PROBLEM OF THE SOVIET SS-16 ICBM IS A SEPARATE ONE AND SHOULD BE DEALT WITH ACCORDINGLY.

V

MR. MINISTER, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT CONTRAINING THE GROWING THREAT TO FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS IS IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH SIDES AND WE SHOULD STRIVE TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS.

## SECOND STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR EARLE AUGUST 5, 1977

MR. MINISTER:

I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE THAT, AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD DURING THE PERIOD SINCE JUNE 10, 1977, PROGRESS HAS BEEN ATTAINED IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

THE DRAFTING GROUP HAS PREPARED AN UPDATED JOINT DRAFT TEXT WHICH REFLECTS THE STATUS OF THE FORMULATIONS AS OF AUGUST 5, 1977.

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AS AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON OTHER QUESTIONS, THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT WILL BE REVISED AS NECESSARY.EARLE

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Subject: AMBASSADOR EARLE\'S STATEMENTS OF AUGUST 5, 1977 (SALT TWO - 1325) THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS DELIVERED

BY AMBASSAD TAGS: PARM, (EARLE, RALPH II)

To: STATE Type: TE

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